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THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES AMONG THE NATIONS

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It is not an uncommon thing to hear men say that "the future belongs to the United States"; or, that "the United States is the country of the future." By either of these expressions they mean, it is fair to suppose, that the United States, being already one of the great powers, has a larger margin for growth than any other nation, in respect both of population and resources. Russia, indeed, has a vaster territory and a larger population; but recent events have shown that Russia must be modernized before she can greatly count, outside of the regions that are hers by nature. In the distant future she may yet play a very great part; for the immediate future, her influence has been very much reduced. Russia, moreover, almost of necessity, can be a great power only on the land. On the north, her long coast line borders upon a frozen ocean. In Europe she can reach the open sea, that great highway of the nations, only, so to speak, through the neck of a bottle. At the south even this neck has long been closed to her ships of war. At the north, either of her great maritime neighbors could equally deprive her of access to the open sea were it their wish to do so. In Asia she has but one port upon the ocean, now that Port Arthur and Dalny have been lost, and that port, Vladivostock, is closed by ice for half of the year. Under these circumstances it is not strange that Russia has wholly failed to develop a race of sailors capable of making her illustrious upon the ocean. Whatever be her destiny, it must be achieved, one would say, by virtue of her strength on the land. The war with Japan, now going on, has revealed the limits of that strength at the present time in the Far East. If it is to be greater in the future, time, money and internal reorganization at home are all necessary. That Russia has vast undeveloped resources

is certain; that her people are capable of a great awakening, accompanied by a corresponding increase of power, cannot be doubted. But the Russia of the future, if she is to play a part in the world worthy of her resources and her numbers, waits on the modernizing in spirit and in method both of her government and of her people.

Russia, of all the great powers, except the United States, is the only one capable of indefinite expansion in population and resources. The situation of the United States, however, is infinitely more fortunate. Separated from other nations of great strength by the width of an ocean, she is comparatively safe from attack, and therefore free, beyond all others, to develop her resources by peaceful industry. All of her home territory, also, lies in the temperate zone, and stretches from ocean to ocean. If ever a nation were destined to be a world-power, whether it would or not, surely it is the United States. England has become a world power because it is a little island that can give occupation at home neither to its men nor its money. The United States has become a world-power partly by inviting all Europe to share in its destinies and partly because it fills so large a space in the world, literally and actually, on land and sea alike, that it can neither keep itself out of world movements, if it wished to do so, nor be kept out by others. A nation cannot live to itself alone, and continue to be either great or strong. The law of life of a healthy nation is that it shall do its share of the world's work as well as its own, precisely as the law of life of a healthy man is that he shall live for others as well as for himself.

The influence and power of a nation, however, depend, not so much upon its population and resources, as upon the character, the capacity and, especially, the ideals of its people. China is the most populous of nations, and the territory that it occupies is very extensive. Every addition to our knowledge of it increases our estimate of its resources. But the Chinese have never been a world-power in the modern sense of that phrase because their ideal has been to keep the world out of China, rather than to allow China to come into living contact with the rest of the world. It is important, therefore, in the consideration of our subject to consider the world-powers of to-day from this point of view.

England has long been a world-power, as has been already said, because the island itself is small, and unable to give sufficient

occupation at home either to its men or its money. The island would have been quite large enough for its own people if the people that occupied it had not been of a race whose qualities carried them early to the front. Their island position made them at home upon the sea, and their qualities as sailors and fighters in time gave them command of the sea, and carried their flag into every quarter of the globe. The English, also, were the earliest in the field of mechanical invention, and introduced the great revolution in industry from hand to machine power which has changed the face of the world. Being first in this field, and having command of the seas, they were able to accumulate vast wealth before the other nations of the world were able to reorganize their industries on the new basis. The English people, moreover, have developed a colonizing power that has enabled them to hold permanently distant regions of the earth, which have been won, at the outset, through the prowess of their arms. The achievements of England in commerce, in manufactures, and in government, are among the great achievements of the race. There is no reason to suppose that the genius of the English people has been impaired in any way in these later times; but, within the last century, other nations have developed their resources and the capacity to utilize them, until to-day England finds herself confronted with a rivalry in commerce and manufacture that has not, indeed, as yet seriously affected the volume of her activities, but which has already cost her her primacy in some products of the first importance. The position of England as a world-power to-day, therefore, is not so much that of unquestioned primacy as more nearly that of "first among equals."

The French people, always keen for adventure, were early among the nations in seeking control of distant territories. Unhappily for the French, they have never, as a people, developed the colonizing quality which has enabled them to hold the distant territory which they have won against a colonizing people like the English. In Africa, however, and to a small extent in Asia, the French maintain colonies that have all the merits and many of the weaknesses historically associated with French movements of that character. The French have been from time immemorial distinctly a military people, devoted to glory and indulging constantly in war. It was said, however, of the first Napoleon, the greatest military genius of modern times, that, like the fabled giant of antiquity, he was strong

only when he touched the earth ; that the narrowest stretch of water, like the English Channel, was enough to mark the limitations of his power. France, with its long sea coast, has always produced men who were sailors by nature and by the habit of their lives. But the interests of France, throughout the centuries, have always been so much greater upon the European continent than upon the ocean, or beyond, that such sailors have never been bred in sufficient numbers to maintain the mastery of the sea when that has been in question. Furthermore, the leadership that has been often so marvellous in the armies of France has seldom been discovered in the conduct of its maritime affairs. France, however, is undoubtedly one of the great world-powers of the twentieth century, and one whose influence is likely to be felt wherever the interests of France are thought to be concerned. For France is not only military, she is scientific and artistic above all others, and plays as great a part in the world of thought as in the world of action.

The German Empire is a nation that has become a world-power by virtue of education. The Germans have always been one of the most virile races of Europe, from the time when they first appear upon the scene, in the days of the Romans, up to the present hour ; but, for many centuries, the influence of the race was belittled by its divisions, so that until of late years it has had no interests, and practically no influence, outside of the European continent. The battle of Jena crushed the Prussia of that day into the very dust ; and in that hour of national humiliation her wise men advanced the ideal for Prussia of a nation in which every individual should be made, by education, an effective military unit and an effective economic unit. The pursuit of this ideal by Prussia, through the course of a century, has changed the face of Europe, and modified the history of the world. It has resulted, in the first place, in a united Germany ; and, next, in a Germany whose military power and economic progress are the marvel of our times. Under the leadership of its present wise Emperor the Germany that was content for centuries to be a land-power, has become a commercial and maritime power of the first rank. In no other country is science brought so systematically to bear upon the problems of manufacture, and in no other country is business training so systematically and so widely given. German research has unlocked the secrets of nature for the benefit of mankind, and German science has developed new indus-

tries for the advantage of all men. In the manufacture of chemicals, for example, and in the application of chemistry to industry, she was the first in the field on a large scale, and, in this department, she retains her primacy, despite the progress of other nations. Thus, in the noblest sense Germany has been a world-power for half a century, and the indications are that she will continue to be so indefinitely.

It has long been customary to think that the destiny of the Far East would depend, in the main, upon the western nations, and especially upon their attitude to China. The war between Japan and Russia has changed all that; at least in the sense that it is now apparent that Japan is a power which must be reckoned with in every movement relating to the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean. No nation hereafter is likely to take important action in that quarter of the world without taking into consideration the attitude of Japan. Inasmuch as the commerce of the world is largely interested in the facilities for commerce in the Far East, Japan has become a world-power of the first importance in that quarter of the globe. Her progress in the arts of war has astonished the western world. But she has done much more than astonish the West: she has given it an illustration of how sanitation and preventive care can reduce the losses by disease in war below the losses on the battlefield. This is only one respect in which all the nations of the world must learn from Japan; but this is a matter of such importance that to have taught the world this lesson is to have laid the world under perpetual obligation.

Across a narrow sea from Japan lies China, a territory vast in extent, and populous beyond all other lands. Without the ideals or the habits that make for a strong nationality, the Chinese are yet a people of great industry and with many traits of character that command admiration. In an age like ours, when every nation is seeking to increase its foreign trade, China, if not a world-power in the full sense of the word, is still a country around which movements that greatly affect the world are certain to turn. The adjustment of the formless life of China to the moulds of life of the outside world appears to be one of the inevitable tendencies of the times. Therefore the country likely to be so affected becomes, by virtue of this possibility, a world factor of so great importance as to justify its consideration, in this connection, as a world-power.

From the beginning of its history the United States has been a world-power, in the sense that it has profoundly affected the movements of thought and of action outside of itself. The success of the American Revolution undoubtedly did much to bring to a head the revolution in France, which placed a great gulf between the ancient régime and the new in every country of Europe, and which, in turn, has modernized every European country, unless it be Russia. The refusal of the United States to pay further tribute to the Bey of Tripoli one hundred years ago led the other nations to follow it in putting down that abuse. Its attitude in the war of 1812 put an end to the impressment of sailors upon the ocean, not for itself alone but for all nations. Its influence in favor of the rights of neutrals has led to a great extension of those rights; and, in the matter of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, it has been easily the leader among the nations. In successful wars with foreign countries, it has set the example of paying for foreign territory conquered by its arms, instead of demanding an indemnity; and in returning the indemnity received from Japan for the Shimono-seki affair, because it thought such a payment essentially unjust, it has set an example of idealism in its relation to other nations of which its people may well be proud. More recently, its attitude to China has been uniformly generous, and in Cuba it has made a neighboring people free at great expense to itself in blood and treasure.

The United States has been a world-power, also, and a world influence of the first magnitude in the sense that it has offered an outlet to the overcrowded countries of Europe for their surplus population. No movement in the history of the world is so striking and significant as the peaceful migration of literally millions of people out of every European country into the United States. In ancient times the migration of various tribes from place to place is recorded; but always such migration was either that of the conqueror, who carried fire and sword wherever he went; or that of the vanquished, who were moved, against their will, from their old homes to the new. And even so, the scale upon which such migration occurred was insignificant compared with the mighty tide that now, for nearly a hundred years, has rolled from the old world to the new. No doubt this phenomenon has been largely due to the bare fact that the United States has been a new country, needing

population that the old world could spare. But this is a very partial explanation of the phenomenon, for the inhabitants of the United States might have given so cold a welcome to other newcomers from abroad as to have kept the stream of immigration always small in volume. In point of fact, however, the United States, by its aggressive policy, has actually changed the old European conception of "once a subject, always a subject," to the modern doctrine and practice that a man is free to choose his citizenship where he will, without losing his property rights where he was born. This affords a new basis for international relationships, a basis that makes strongly for peace and good-will. There is, perhaps, no greater difference in the world's life brought about by the United States than this. The United States has made all comers welcome, barring the Chinese. The significance of this exception will be discussed later. The poor, and even the ignorant, from European shores have been made to feel that America welcomes them to the land of opportunity. The vast development of the resources and power of the United States is one return made by the immigrants to that attitude. It is inevitable that a population so composed, and so related to foreign peoples, should be, at bottom, well disposed to them all. While the United States has pursued consistently its own ideals, and is likely to do so, it may be taken for granted that its primary instinct is one of friendship for all nations.

The appeal of the United States to its citizens, like that of England, is to the innate power and capacity of the individual man. The people of the United States believe in education not less warmly than the people of Germany; but, as a people, they lack the sense of discipline, the quality of thoroughness, and the submissiveness to control which have made the German Empire what it is. As substitutes for these qualities, they have immense enthusiasm, great earnestness, a zeal for knowledge and a readiness to learn which have made the people of the United States one of the most intelligent peoples of the earth. They are not trained in the school as the German is trained; and yet the German workman, on coming to the United States, is so waked up by the atmosphere of which he finds himself a part, that he becomes a more effective workman than in Germany. In the education of the school the German system surpasses that of the United States by its thoroughness and comprehensiveness; but in the education that comes of the life of the body

politic, no country in the world educates its citizens so generally or so effectively as the United States.

The United States, in a word, is a nation vast in power, and still more vast in undeveloped resources, great in capacity, and lofty in its ideals, pursuing steadfastly its own development, at home and abroad, but equally firm in the belief that it prospers best when other nations also are prosperous. In its international relations, it aims to be just, and to seek peace by ensuing it. What is likely to be the influence of such a nation as a world-power, now that events have brought it into closer contact with world movements, outside of itself?

Those who fancy that the United States has been suddenly smitten with imperialism because of its attitude towards the Philippines seem to me wholly mistaken in their view. The United States did not start out to conquer the Philippines, and no nation was ever more surprised than it was when it found itself confronted with the dilemma of what to do with them. The nation that was arranging, at its own cost, to give independence to Cuba, was not, in the same treaty of peace, plotting to deprive the Filipinos of their independence. On the contrary, it was planning, generously, as it thought, to substitute itself for Spain in the Philippine Islands, and to give to the Filipinos the benefit of association with a strong people, all of whose instincts are for freedom, in place of association with an old nation, whose instincts have never run in modern lines. There may have been, in the decision on the part of the United States to keep the Philippine Islands, some influence of that Norman blood, which, from time immemorial, has found attraction in foreign lands, in Normandy, in England, in Sicily, and wherever its warriors went; and, back of it all, beyond all doubt, was the influence of the thought that, in the commercial developments of the coming years, the United States, with her natural and large interests in the Pacific Ocean, was a safer guardian in the Philippines of those interests than any other nation. This, coupled with the belief that the United States could be really helpful to the people of the Philippines, led to the great decision. It should be said, also, that in the Philippines the United States has not hesitated to carry out its ideals as rapidly as they have seemed practicable. With the profound popular belief in education that is characteristic of this country, more progress has been made in five years in establishing a

system of popular education in the Philippine Islands than has ever been made in any tropical country in the same length of time. Rightly or wrongly, the United States has not hesitated to try to solve its problems there, not only on the lines of personal freedom and generous civil rights, but also on the lines of popular education, and of popular participation in government, that are natural to us, but strange enough in the Orient. It may be too soon to say what will be the large result of this great departure from all old methods; but they, at least, in our own country, who complain because more is not done, miss the great significance of what is actually being attempted. Time, and time alone, can determine whether the same tendencies shall go further, or whether they will be checked by the course of events. But this, at least, is certain, that nothing in the character of the American people will check the development upon the lines of self-government which has begun. If this movement fails it will fail because it is not applicable to people of another race and of a different clime; but, happily, the indications are that slowly and surely it is winning its way, and converting some who have heretofore been disbelievers.

By the Monroe Doctrine the United States has preserved both the American continents from European complications for almost a century, except for the brief and unhappy episode of Napoleon III. in Mexico. Its presence in the Philippines is almost certain to make for international peace in the Far East, because it throws actively into the scale as a factor making for peace there, on the basis of justice, the great moral force of the United States. The United States opened Japan to intercourse with the western world by peaceful negotiation. It has stood like a rock, during recent troubles, for the integrity of China; for its neutrality during the present war between Japan and Russia; and for the "open door" in China for the commerce of all nations. Being in the Philippines, the United States is so far a party in interest that its voice commands even greater weight on such subjects than it would have had if our actual interests had been distant the whole width of the Pacific.

Thus far the attention of the United States has been largely given up to internal development. Recent events have compelled it to look beyond its own borders, and to contemplate its relations to the rest of the world from a new point of view. It is characteristic

of this new attitude that it proposes to build the Panama Canal. It desires to open, not only a new passage for itself between its Atlantic and Pacific ports, but also a new highway for the commerce of the world. But it wants to do this itself, without the aid of others, thus avoiding international complications.

International problems in these days are largely industrial and commercial in character. The diplomacy of the days preceding the French Revolution was usually dynastic. The wars and struggles of the nations represented (upon the surface, at all events) little more than the efforts of different families to advance their own interests, which they identified, more or less consciously, with the interests of their people. Since the French Revolution the movement in the western world has been towards the formation of nations on either racial or geographical lines. This process has gone so far as to leave little more to be accomplished; and as one result we find that the nations of the twentieth century are concerning themselves primarily with questions affecting their own industrial well-being. Broadly speaking, most modern nations can produce by their manufactures more than they can consume. The United States and Russia produce, also, by their agriculture more than they can consume. The profitable disposal of this surplus of production, whatever form it takes, has so profound a bearing upon the welfare of the nation producing it that every country feels constrained to concern itself with the development of its foreign trade by every means in its power. This it is which brings the modern nations, not only most closely into contact with each other, but also, most frequently, into collision with each other, more or less seriously. The present war in the Far East is not so much a struggle to determine whether Russia or Japan shall be politically dominant in Manchuria, as it is a war waged for the markets of Manchuria and the regions affected thereby. The war, therefore, concerns deeply, not only the nations actually engaged in it, but in its outcome and settlement it will profoundly affect all the commercial nations of the world. From this point of view, that is to say, from the point of view of international commerce, the attitude of the United States, as to the settlement of the war, is likely to be very far-reaching. The United States stands for the "open door" in the Far East with an emphasis that already has been greatly influential. It is likely to continue to stand for that idea as earnestly and persistently as may be necessary.

In order to appreciate the significance of this question of the "open door" to the United States, one must consider it in its relation to one of the most powerful and persistent of the ideals of the American people. Reference has been made already to the significant fact that the American people have welcomed all newcomers into the United States except the Chinese. From the point of view of all the political theories of the United States this exception is indefensible. It has met, however, in this country with substantially no protest, because of the general recognition on the part of the American people that the admission of the Chinese in large numbers would involve disaster to the American standard of living. This reveals, in another form, the transition already traced from political to economic questions as the dominating questions of the modern world. No ideal is dearer to the Americans as a nation than a high standard of living, not merely for the fortunate few, but especially for the great masses of the people. The policy of protection, which has dominated our tariffs for half a century, could not have been maintained for a decade if the masses of the voters had not believed that it tended to elevate their standard of living. They know that under the policy of free trade at home and protection through customs duties against foreign competition not only are wages higher here than elsewhere, but also the standard of living is higher among American working men than in any of the countries from which they so largely come. There are serious objections that can be urged against our policy of protection. It does lend itself to an increase of corruption in public and commercial life; it does have the effect of placing our manufactures and all our industries more or less on an artificial basis. These are serious and weighty objections, and they would quickly be fatal to it if there were not upon the other side considerations that, in the general judgment, outweigh them. First of all, and perhaps the most important of all, is the one already referred to, that the policy of protection has been accompanied by the creation and maintenance of a standard of living for the great masses of our people that nowhere else prevails. In addition there are two other things to be said for it of far-reaching importance. It has doubtless greatly stimulated emigration to this country, and, in so doing, it has relieved the pressure of population upon European countries, as it could not otherwise have been relieved. Any one who is familiar with economic conditions and

the conditions of life for the masses of men upon the continent of Europe must shudder when he thinks what these would have been if the outlet to the United States had not existed, and had not been made as attractive as it has been. The maintenance of very high wages in this country, furthermore, has so stimulated invention as to lead Americans not only to use machinery more than any other people, but even to seek economy in the operation of machinery itself, with the result that the United States, in many instances, has shown itself able to produce the cheapest goods, although paying the highest wages and working the shortest hours of any people in the world. This fortunate demonstration that machinery, when carried to its highest perfection, where labor is intelligent, both relieves men from excessive hours of labor and increases their pay, is a demonstration of incalculable value to mankind. This demonstration, it is not too much to say, is due to that necessity which is the mother of invention, which has been fostered, certainly, if not created, by the protective system of the United States, and which has been maintained in the interest of a high standard of living for the masses of the people. It is easy to see that a nation that has been willing, in the general interest, to pay more for every manufactured thing that it consumes until time secures a domestic product as cheap as the imported, was not likely to permit its standard of living to be undermined by the admission in large numbers of a people like the Chinese, whose standard of life is so far below that of the American laborer as to threaten the latter with extermination wherever Chinese competition became serious. The standard of life of many European immigrants, in the last few years, is far enough below that prevailing in the United States; but, low as it is, the difference is not so great as to forbid the hope that in a few years the standards of the newcomers will be lifted up to the level of those already here. With the Chinese, however, the standard of living is so much lower still as to make the attempt seem hopeless; while the strangeness of their tongue, and the fact that they do not, or indeed cannot, readily become integral parts of our civilization, have given justification to the policy of exclusion actually pursued.

If this study of current problems is sound, the influence of the United States as a world-power is likely to be felt increasingly in the interest of a universal commerce; not a commerce independent of tariff restrictions, but a commerce independent of political bar-

riers. In time it is not unlikely to be felt in favor of the removal of tariff restrictions; but that time must await the coming in this country of the general belief that the standard of living, here and elsewhere, can be advanced by the reduction of tariffs. While the United States pursues for itself the policy of high protection, it naturally cannot object to a similar policy, when pursued by other nations; and if such a policy should become world-wide, and if the surplus production of the United States should increase in volume so greatly that it cannot be disposed of advantageously under the régime of high tariffs, the United States will then be confronted with a new problem. Up to this time, by its effect upon emigration, it may fairly be said that the protective policy pursued by the United States has helped to elevate the standard of life in Europe as well as in the United States. If that should cease to be the fact our policy, doubtless, would have to be changed to meet the changed conditions. In the meanwhile it may easily be that for a long time to come the influence of the United States, under its present commercial policy, upon the standard of living the world over, will be helpful. No policy of any kind is without its disadvantages, and some of the penalties which the United States pays for maintaining its high standard of living are very evident. Its shipping engaged in foreign trade has been reduced to a minimum, for the reason that, under the protective policy, ships can neither be built nor operated as cheaply by the United States as by other nations. This fact encourages the United States to maintain its navigation laws, and even to extend them to its new territories; action that, upon the face of it, is not considerate of foreign nations. On the other hand, a departure from this policy that would bring the United States into active competition upon the ocean with all nations, because wages here were as low and the cost of things as cheap as they are elsewhere, would make the United States in the markets of the world a much more formidable competitor than it is now. The competition of shipping maintained by subsidies is not likely to be felt on a scale large enough to cut a very serious figure.

If, then, it be true that the future belongs to the United States, it is fortunate for mankind that the United States is not, in essence, a warlike nation. Capable of fighting, and fighting hard, if need be, with wealth and mechanical capacity beyond all other nations, and with greater reserve power than any other people, both its political

system and its essential spirit are friendly to peace. Its great army of the Civil War on both sides melted into the industry of the country as the snow melts into the rivers under the April sun. It seeks to arm its people for the contests of commerce and industry, not for the battlefield. Apart from pensions, no nation bears so light a burden of taxation, in comparison with its resources, for military and naval purposes. The United States in the future, as in the past, undoubtedly would fight, and fight with all its immense power, in defense of its rights or to protect itself from attack. It would certainly fight to preserve the American continent from new or enlarged European control. It might even fight, under provocation, to prevent neutral markets from being closed arbitrarily in its face. It is scarcely conceivable that it would ever fight simply to enlarge its markets. Because its international interests are so largely commercial, its influences everywhere must be for peace; for commerce is a lover of peace, and not of war.

But while the formal influence of the United States, in its international relationships, is most immediately felt in these days in relation to commerce, it is still true that the United States has been, and is, and may hope to remain, an immense force among the nations of the earth, making for individual freedom, for larger civil rights, and for freedom of opportunity. No one begins to understand America who does not appreciate its earnestness and its idealism. The old Puritan doctrine may have been modified, but the Puritan spirit still remains. In a thousand ways it affects and permeates the great mass of newcomers almost unawares. It is a spirit to which men are of more moment than things; before which there shines always the ideal of a nation built upon righteousness; of a nation whose aim in the world it is to stand for justice and liberty, at home and abroad. It is a spirit by which, in the last statement, every policy of the country must be tried; to which, sooner or later, all of its policies must respond. Such a country as a world-power may make mistakes, but its influence at large cannot but be elevating; and the more so because its policies represent the free action of the largest body of free men on the face of the globe. That same free spirit that has changed the conception of citizenship till a man is free to choose the country of his allegiance; that has set the sailor free upon the high seas, so that he can be no longer taken by force to fight under a flag that he loves not; that has redeemed Cuba from being a second

Crete, and has given to it its own independent life among the nations ; that same sense of justice which has led it to arbitrate international disputes more freely than any other nation ; that has led it to pay for territory conquered in war, instead of holding it as the spoils of victory ; that has led it to return to Japan money that it felt was not justly due ; that has led it to buy the friars' lands in the Philippines in order to settle justly an agrarian dispute ; these are the forces, this spirit of justice and this spirit of freedom, certain to control the United States in all its international relationships, so that men may fairly expect of it, in its rôle as a world-power, that its vast power and resources will make steadily, one may even hope uniformly, for international happiness and international peace.

commission in any case with actual authority over future rates, is not the denial of that authority, to be exercised by a legislative tribunal, a far more serious proposition?

Effect of Administrative Action.

One further observation. If an administrative tribunal rather than a court is the selected agency for enforcing the enacted rules of conduct in respect of rates, whatever be the extent or degree of its authority, the orders which it is empowered to make should be self-enforceable and not as now only *prima facie* findings for the purpose of legal proceedings. It is not sufficient or suitable that the administrative body charged with the duty of giving effect to the regulating statute, and exercising such authority as the Congress may confer, should be obliged, when its directions are disregarded, to become a suitor in the courts to enforce its own determinations. When the commission has investigated and decided, when it has promulgated such an order as it may be authorized to make, its duty in the premises should be fully discharged and ended. Subject to such judicial review as will protect against the abuse or unreasonable exercise of delegated authority, the lawful directions of the regulating tribunal, unless restrained or set aside by the courts, should take effect and be obligatory substantially the same as legislative enactments. Whether it be deemed sufficient to provide only for condemnation and orders of desistance, or whether in addition authority be bestowed to prescribe for the future, however much or little the power with which administration is invested, the legislation should be so framed as to compel the carrier to comply with an authorized requirement or to resort to the courts for its suspension or annulment.

Therefore, as I conceive, the problem of enacting or amending laws for the regulation of interstate carriers includes the four elements which I have thus briefly described. To my mind they are quite distinct and separable as I have endeavored to explain. Each presents its peculiar phases and furnishes its special field of controversy. The task of legislating upon this subject is difficult and the need urgent. It cannot be doubted that a correct analysis and clear apprehension of the principles involved will aid a wise and useful outcome.